

The Republican.

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A REPORT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE JOINT SOCIETIES DENOMINATED THE ANTI-DEIST SOCIETY; the ANTI-DEVIL SOCIETY; the ANTI-MONARCHICAL SOCIETY; the ANTI-CHRISTIAN SOCIETY; the ANTI-PRIESTIAN SOCIETY; the ANTI-SPIRITUAL SOCIETY; the ANTI-BIBLE SOCIETY; the KORAN SOCIETY; the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, or a KNOWLEDGE OF CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; the GENERAL KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY, or the SOCIETY FOR AN EQUAL DISSEMINATION OF ALL EXISTING KNOWLEDGE; the ANTI-VICE SOCIETY; the ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY; the ANTI-ARISTOCRATICAL SOCIETY; the ANTI-BRUNSWICK SOCIETY; the ANTI-BOROUGHMONGER SOCIETY; the ANTI-CATHOLIC SOCIETY; the ANTI-PROTESTANT SOCIETY; the ANTI-JEW AND CHRISTIAN JEW SOCIETY; the ANTI-PITT SOCIETY; the ANTI-CANNING SOCIETY; the ANTI-FOX SOCIETY; the ANTI-TORY SOCIETY; the ANTI-WHIG SOCIETY; the ANTI-RADICAL SOCIETY; the ANTI-ORANGE SOCIETY; the ANTI-MASON SOCIETY; and the SOCIETY THAT OPPOSES ALL SECTS AND SOCIETIES THAT ARE NOT ASSOCIATED FOR USEFUL PURPOSES, AS INJURIOUS TO THE GREAT SOCIAL WHOLE THAT FORMS THE COUNTRY.

N. B. The Subscribers to the above Societies include all the inhabitants of this Island who deserve to be called "The Friends of their Country and of Mankind."

Committee for each—Richard Carlile and a few friends, with powers to add to their number. Founder, Scribe, Printer, Publisher and Secretary.

RICHARD CARLILE.

REPORT, &c.

As nothing is done in this country without societies, annual meetings and dinners, and reports of progress; and, as Mr.

Printed and Published by R. Carlile, 5, Water Lane, Fleet Street.

Peel and others are sure that I am supported by societies, it may be as well to acknowledge the fact at once as set forth in the heading of this article, and report progress in the usual way; which shall hereafter be done annually, on some day when I have nothing for dinner. It is the general custom in this country though a very bad one, to do no public business without a dinner, or supper, or something to drink; but, I shall, with other reforms, endeavour to reform this practice, and shew "*My beloved fellow countrymen and countrywomen*" that public business can be best done when the mind is free from sensual sensations, and the stomach free from a superabundance of undigested food.

A friend having given a pledge in No. 20 of the Republican" that I should give an account of the receipts and applications of money on account of all the aforementioned societies, I proceed to report that part of the business first. It will be a mere repetition of what I have before often stated; but as it has been called for and promised, it must be done; though I shall study brevity, as the most tedious writers and speakers always say when they suspect their readers and hearers necessarily begin to anticipate something wearisome.

In 1817, as a capital, equivalent to the foundation of all these societies, the Secretary and Founder borrowed *twenty shillings* from his employer, and invested it in the firm of Wooler and Co., taking, as a security, one hundred of their debentures denominated "Black Dwarfs." These he circulated at a very small profit among a few of the most resolute stock jobbers; for a traffic in this paper was forbidden by the Government, at this time from its tendency to produce a general aversion to investments in the Government securities.

His speculations in the purchase and sale of these debentures were sufficiently profitable to cause him great exertions and little food; but a new sort of paper money, known by the name of "Wat Tylers," coming into the market just at that time, created a great bustle from the knowledge that the issuer was in favour at Court! To a joint speculation in the "Wat Tylers" and the "Black Dwarfs," the solid foundation of all those important associations may be attributed! Glory be to thee, O Southey! Happy mayest thou be, in singing hexameters to thy old Royal Master, when thou hast passed the *reality* as well as the *vision* of judgment! Yes! my patron! to that best of thy productions! "Wat Tyler!" do I owe the encouragement I found to per-

severe in the foundation of so many important institutions! In the most conspicuous part of Albion's Temple of Reason shall thy statue be raised, and thy name and usefulness be engraved! 'Tis true Southey! the mind is the man! The body changes; the mind cannot change! The body dies; but the mind is immortal! Thy body has changed, thou art not now the Robert Southey of the last century: thy body shall die; but thy mind that produced "Wat Tyler," shall never die! The author of "Joan of Arc" shall live for ever; but the Poet Laureat shall die and be forgotten!

To drop all metaphor and bombast I would observe, that I verily believe, that I should not have been able to persevere in the sale of such publications, for want of a living profit, had not the application to the Court of Chancery, to suppress the publication of "Wat Tyler," been made at that particular moment, and had not Mr. Sherwin printed an edition to sell for twopence and threepence. "Wat Tyler" yielded me an encouraging profit; "Wat Tyler" brought me acquainted with Mr. Sherwin; and "Wat Tyler" continued to be a source of profit when every other political publication failed! The world does not know what it may yet owe to Southey!

April 1817, Got seated in the shop window of 183, Fleet Street, to sell books and pamphlets, in support of the new institutions. Profits nothing better than journeyman's wages, after all expences were paid, throughout that year. In August, got into the King's Bench Prison for publishing the profane Parodies, and there lay for eighteen weeks without any countenance or consolation from any one. Came out as poor at the end as at the beginning of that year; but had got a name of being a good fellow, a bad fellow, a daring fellow, a dangerous fellow, and a Government agent! a fortune is half made when a name is made!

1818. Began this year with publication of new Parodies and new editions of old ones. Government evidently sick with the prosecutions of 1817! Not one successful verdict in London! and, by the aid of Oliver, could only murder a few men in Derby, who knew nothing and were not known beyond the skirts of their villages! Shame on that Government that can call such matters a levying of war and high treason! Shame on that Government that can murder men by such means!

In this year in London, the Press was free. The Political Works of Thomas Paine were publicly published and unop-

posed by the Government, though they had been previously so often successfully prosecuted. This was a great point gained towards the establishment of the new institutions. It was evidently intended to file no more *ex officio* Information for a time, unless an attempt was made to remove the very foundation stones of Mother Church's Establishment.

But a skilful General knows that it will not do to be supine whilst a powerful though a beaten enemy is near. If a success be not followed up it often ends in being a disaster. I was for stopping no where, whilst any-thing remained undone, whilst there was a shadow of an enemy remaining. I continued to advance as far as my supplies would allow, and prepared to besiege the very fortress of Superstition. The enemy knowing well this was its last and most powerful hold began to fight, and still fights desperately; though much beaten, and evidently trembling behind breaches and over mines. But to talk of gains before the war is over, can only have been the work of envy, malice and hatred! all is uncertainty as to profits, whilst the battle is raging! Who lives, or who dies, is the question, and not what has this, or what has that man gained. At the end of the year, 1818, I am not certain, that I was worth a shilling. I owed a few debts, and had a few publications in stock as a security for them; but nothing of any consequence, as I took the chief of my publications from Mr. Sherwin, a few copies at a time as I could sell them. I was not even an independent tradesman, in 1818.

1819. This was the year—a memorable year for many things!

I had full possession of the house 183, Fleet Street, for the last half year of 1818, but I was a tenant by mere sufferance, and paid but little more than my shop rent, in consequence of some dispute about the validity of the lease by the new purchaser. Every one who knew my means, derided the idea of my getting into another house and shop in Fleet Street, as the sum of £500. is a common price to obtain possession of any thing like a lease, and those houses are not let to tenants at will. I could not be sure of commanding five hundred shillings for any such a purpose.

It has ever been a principle with me to lose nothing for want of aiming at it, and I have always preferred an honourable failure to an inglorious apathy. I examined every house and shop in Fleet street that was to be let or sold: and fixed on 55. Here was only a four years lease to be

obtained at a premium of £40. The house was in a ruinous state; not a stove, a lock or a fixture in it. Glass much shattered, stair-case falling down; shop floor quite rotten, in fact, with the exception of an excellent shop front, the house was a barn, and such as no one would live in, but for the sake of the shop. As the lessee, Mr. Bassett, the Haberdasher of Fleet Street, held a repairing lease, he was glad to get a tenant at any rate, and I was glad to get such a shop at any rate; on any other consideration, the house was a bad bargain, and worse than if a heavy sum had been asked for the lease of four years for repairing it.

He was rather fearful of my business and the Government prosecutions. I assured him, that I was not then under any that I had heard of; which was the fact, in the first week of January, I gave him a reference to the principal persons with whom I had lodged, and by whom I had been employed, in London, for a character, and he returned from the enquiry without a scruple.

The next point for me was to raise the £40 as a premium. I thought of nothing but getting into the shop, though I was aware the first expence was nothing to what would follow; but the first was the only imperative expence to obtain possession, and the others I could incur as fast as my returns of money would admit. Political friends from whom I could borrow money, I had none, with the exception of a couple of private ones, and they could furnish me but a trifle, conveniently. I had confidence in my old employer, as a last resource. I raised all I could by other means, and went to him, told him what I had got, what I wanted, the purposed application, and he generously made up the deficiency: though I had left him near two years. Here I would observe, with gratitude towards this gentleman, who I believe, has been far from approving all that I have since done, that, if I had not met with a few generous spirits, a few admirable traits of human character, I should look upon the majority of mankind as totally undeserving or unworthy of any individual sacrifice on their behalf. Taking a general view, I do now most certainly behold them as the most ignoble species of animals on the face of the earth. As a body, nothing is more difficult than to direct their attentions to matters of the most momentous concern to themselves. I wonder not that the great body of real philosophers, who have seen every thing clearly, should have sought silence, seclusion and solitude. The exceptions, have only been exceptions to the general

rule, and more the result of accident and situation than design. Yet, it is a noble employment to lay the foundation of future improvement! Future, I do say, for it is very rare that knowledge moves upon any electrical principles, so as to produce present good, or even so as to make the trade of teaching profitable.

Having possession of my new *worn-out* house, I soon felt that I was got into the right sphere for action. I had scarcely got a counter in the shop before prosecutions for the "Age of Reason" were announced, and the most important of all wars began.

It is well known, that, in that year, my business, and consequently my receipts of money, went on increasing; but I never once thought of banking or saving money. As fast as money returned, it was due by anticipations and applied for new publications. Up to the moment of my going to trial, I had not put aside a single pound, for any contingency that might occur. I had accumulated a great stock of printed paper, which was as good to me as Bank Notes, whilst I had the shop to sell in, I may say, to the value of three thousand pounds or upwards. This was all done in nine months, besides an expenditure of at least one thousand pounds, including rent, taxes, wages, fitting up the shop and repairing the house, expences of family and of the prosecutions, which though I did not pay an attorney above twenty pounds, cost me full one hundred pounds.

In the week of my Mock Trials, Mrs. Carlile took a heavy sum, and after knowing the verdict of the first jury, I advised her to prepare for herself and children, and to put by a few hundred pounds. This she did. For my own part, I can say, that I never kept fifty pounds in money in my possession one week, up to this day, and never troubled about money for myself beyond the current wants from week to week, or sometimes, I may have had a month's supply.

A great deal of money was taken in the shop during the month that I lay in the King's Bench Prison, and had I been at liberty to have made a proper arrangement with my stock in trade during that month, I should have subsequently derived great benefit from it. We continued to print most extensively during that month. Some of the Nos. of "The Republican" were so high as fifteen thousand; and of nine sheets of the Mock Trial so high as ten thousand. Not having time to sell off the mass of paper that had been printed, the expences of that month were fully equal to the receipts.

Then came the sentence and the seizure of all the stock that was at 55, Fleet Street. The quantity of business, the confusion and fear of all who were concerned in it, the absence of the necessary authority to make arrangements, and to remove the largest proportion of all the articles equally, caused the seizure of the immense quantity that was seized. All was not seized. Much of my stock had never been removed from the Printing Office, which is a common practice and arrangement between printers and publishers, and much was otherwise secured. But it was done by helter skelter and without method or arrangement. Of some articles that had been printed in large numbers, we saved the whole of one part and lost the whole of the other, and were thus left to reprint to obtain perfect copies, at a great expence. And this evil has been severely felt even to this day, as we have been continually getting parts of works out of print in the most irregular and inconvenient manner, to reprint which has destroyed all hope of profit from the subsequent sale.

I have mentioned that Mrs. Carlile saved a few hundred pounds in October. It is well she did. By the month of January, by the time she had sustained an unprofitable country connection with "The Republican" and other things; the expences of her laying-in at such a moment, when every thing was going to wreck and ruin, and the very nurse and assistants in the house with the Sheriff's Officer, seemed to act as if they had nothing to do but to consume the remnant of the wreck; by the time she had paid Mr. Sherwin his last shilling for printing; the Sheriff £55. for the shop fixtures and some articles of household furniture; and had come to Dorchester to shew me the new born infant, she returned to London with thirty pounds only, when thirty-five were due for the quarter's rent.

And here I am in duty bound to observe, that I consider the prosecutions have caused Mrs. Carlile a greater punishment and suffering by a hundred degrees than they have caused me. There is nothing in the shape of mental anguish, but she has suffered; whilst I have never suffered a moment's uneasiness in that shape. But this is the peculiar characteristic of religious persecutions; the suffering of the individual persecuted bears no comparison to the mental anguish, the privations suffered by his family.

The reader may now clearly perceive, what were the state of my profits up to the commencement of the year 1820, and what were my prospects at that moment. By most of the persons who had come buzzing about me throughout the

year 1819, with professions of friendship, I found myself most completely deserted. Of my fines, I thought nothing, after such a wreck with my property had been made by the Government; but it seems now, that even there I gave the ministers credit for too much. I had a prospect of three years imprisonment. The circulation of my weekly publication was destroyed. I had a large stock of printed paper, but little of it could be made into perfect books. A family totally unprovided for. Many persons busy with their advice to Mrs. Carlile, to oppose my views, and let her shop to some person that would better stand prosecution. She doubting and distracted, not knowing what to do, or which way to look. Sheriff Rothwell and different members of the Vice Society threatening immediate prosecution if she followed my business and instructions. Here, I had to resist a mass of fear, prejudice and intrigue, to keep the shop open and to counteract all these working on the minds of Mrs. Carlile; intreating and insisting, that she would and should follow up what I had begun and give up the shop to no one, nor sell any thing less than I had done. This was a trying moment, but I found that resolution and perseverance prevailed. The only unfortunate resolution that Mrs. Carlile took, was, that she would not print and sell the sheets of the Mock Trial, for which she had been carried into the Court of the King's Bench in November. She has subsequently seen the error and folly of this resolution but I could not move her against it, by argument nor order. She fancied at first, that if she did not fly in the faces of her persecutors with this publication, they would not molest her, or at least, never send her to prison. She did not comprehend the object upon which these persecutions moved, and that it mattered not to them, whether it was man, woman, or child that attempted to spoil their craft. To destroy all opposition was their object.

In 1820, Mrs. Carlile, though repeatedly arrested and held to bail, persevered and obtained a good business, by the sale of the breakfast powder, and the noise and bustle which the persecution of the Queen made. So early as April she had accumulated about two hundred pounds, and had every thing free from debt. In 1819, we had begun a new edition of Paine's Political Works on good paper, the former editions having been very bad on that score. We had printed about 20 sheets, or one third, before the seizure and stoppage of the business in November. These were secured, or at least, the fine edition, part of an edition on common paper was

seized. It was a heavy and expensive job to complete this edition, to pay for paper and print as we went on, but it was necessary, and put in hand. It was completed by November, and this job, not only drained us of the last shilling, but brought a hundred pound debt on the business which has never since been got rid off; and though not in the same shape, is still owing to this day.

It is unnecessary to detail here the imprisonment of Mrs. Carlile, the imprisonment of my sister and all who have followed. Every person can conceive the great expence which those matters occasion. Notwithstanding this, we were going on rapidly again in 1822, until the second seizure took place and the deprivation of the shop in such an important situation. It was "The Republican" which alarmed the Government by its reappearance. It had been unprofitable throughout the year 1820, and consequently stopped in 1821, until a more convenient season should arrive. In 1822, it came out with good effect. The first Nos. printed ran out of print, and second editions were called for; but, before No. 6, Vol. 5, had appeared, the shop was shut for good or for bad. This interruption has cut off all profit from "The Republican" up to this day; though, it is now extensively read, by being handed about as a loan, and is, I am satisfied, doing as much good, as any periodical publication in the country; though, from some neighbourhoods, it is completely excluded from the want of agents to introduce it, and from the fears of others who are willing but weak in the cause.

I will enumerate in brief what I have done within the last three years since I have been in a prison, and leave all those who have given me any kind of support to say if they are not satisfied.

Without any encouragement in the way of profit, I have kept up "The Republican," with the exception of the year 1821, to this day. Profits are pleasing and desirable, but I think I have done enough in this single instance, to shew, that I am actuated by other motives besides profits. In the year 1821, I wrote as many pamphlets as I could pay for printing; but I made no profits from any of the small addresses or trials printed in that year. The "Address to Men of Science" was a profitable pamphlet; and the "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters" was, and will be profitable. This year and the beginning of the year 1822, were memorable for the stand I made against the Bridge Street Gang, in the persons and through the aid of my friends. I

am not at all ashamed to boast and say, that, had it not been for my shop and shopmen and shopwomen, that Gang would have carried every thing before them, in their designs on the press. I caused them to waste nearly all their means, without doing me the least injury, and this has paralyzed the Gang. Their institution and prosecutions have, in fact, done me a real service, for, ever since they commenced, the tide of prejudice has been turned, and is still ebbing fast from me, to those who are the persecutors. I stood as an individual before that time; neither countenanced nor supported, by tories, whigs, or radicals; they have now given me something of a national importance. I consider, that I have twenty times the number of open supporters now than I had in 1820, and instead of standing alone, my friends now form the most powerful body of National Reformers that has yet existed in this country. By avowing principles well defined and well understood, I perceive we have made a convert of the very head of Radical Reform, of Major Cartwright himself! I will shortly explode the Major's Anglo-Saxon Constitution, in one No. of "The Republican," and make him what he is worthy to be, a modern Republican and Materialist. I will co-operate with the virtuous Major with the greatest pleasure, if he will but advance a few steps further, to the very point of honesty and right reason. So far from being envious or jealous of him, I will honour him whilst living, and inscribe his name on the same tablet with Paine's when dead. He still retains prejudices and attachments which would do him honour to relinquish. But he has made a great advance, a wonderful advance, in his extreme old age. Ah! Mr. Canning! your Republican speech at Liverpool has done a deal of good, in brushing out all the daubings of the little Red Lion Painters. I told you, that you had shut their mouths. Some are making their peace with you, and the rest are coming with open arms to me. You and I form the two extremes; and it is you and I in contact that must finish the fight of Reform. What stands between us is all squabble, and noise, and confusion, that must be brushed away and dispersed.

But some will say, if you have had no profitable publications of late, what has supported you? I have made some profitable publications; I continue to sell the former stock accumulated; I find nothing that I have published absolutely dead stock, but my chief support has been the subscriptions I have received. The value of my stock is not reduced. It is worth as much now as any that I have ever before ac-

cumulated, because I keep adding to it as well as selling from it; therefore, I have made my income so far meet my expences. If I am a debtor, I am a greater creditor; but I have no command of cash beyond what is necessary for current expences, and of that barely sufficient to move comfortably.

My expences in the whole are only known to myself. Every new prisoner from my shop adds to them: but, with one exception, none of these have ever received from me what they deserve; for I have not been able to give it to them. However, what can be done is done, and as far as I know, there is mutual satisfaction.

My whole and sole object from first to last, from the time of putting off my leather apron to this day, has been a free press and free discussion. When I first started as a hawker of pamphlets, I knew nothing of political principles; I had never read a page of Paine's writings; but I had a complete conviction, that there was something wrong somewhere, and that the right application of the Printing Press was the remedy. If ever there was a willing victim at the shrine of despotism, I have been one, so far as my situation has deserved the epithet. Every man with whom I have worked will say this for me. The particular moment at which I started to sell such publications, was, when all other persons were shrinking from the open sale; it was just as the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; just as Lord Sidmouth put forth his circular; a fortnight before Mr. Cobbett fled to America. I had no stimulus but my own sense of right and duty. No one ever said, "do so," but all who saw my determination said, "to a certainty you'll get into prison, you are throwing yourself into trouble." Prospect of profit I had none, and as I have said before, I believe that the success of my object was kept in countenance by the publication of "Wat Tyler" at that particular moment.

I have endeavoured to set a proper example, as to the manner in which prosecutions on the press should be resisted. I have endeavoured to perform the duty of an individual, in a resistance to despotism. I was not that idle, drunken, brutish character, that would do any thing to be rid of a wife and family, or run into any thing as a freak; I was a regular, active, and industrious man, working early and late, when I could get work enough to do, and when out of the workshop, never so happy any where as at home with my wife and two children. The alehouse, I always detested, both before and after I was married. I had a

notion, that a man who worked hard for a living, or for whatever wages he might obtain, was a fool not to make a right application of every shilling. This principle I acted upon most strictly, and I cannot charge myself with mispending a shilling that I earned as a labourer. Many a day I have breakfasted early, gone to the shop with sixpence in my pocket for a dinner, worked hard all day, eaten nothing, and carried home some sixpenny publication to read at night.

I introduce these matters to shew the possibility of my having been guided by motives superior to those of mere profits. I do not know whether I can make my egotism palatable; I only know that it has been called for. I feel, that it is base in any man to charge me with acting upon principles of hire. Profits, I have made: profits, I wish to make: and profits, I will make if I can: for, I know myself, well enough to know, that I should not be at a loss to spend any thing in the shape of income as to amount: the only question, I should think worth a moment's consideration would be, how best to spend it? The fact is, a man, who has no property to begin with, can do no extensive good without making extensive profits. I am cramped for want of more profits. I desire to make more profits, and I will do so if I can devise the means. So this brings me to the second part of my report. I have stated what I have done; and now I have to state what I want to do; and to lay before my supporters a system of ways and means.

In the fall of last year, I announced my intention, in case I was not liberated in November, of making such a statement, as I have here made, and of putting forth an appeal to the public, to judge whether my liberation was worth their notice. I am still a prisoner, on account of those fines, notwithstanding the robberies of the government on my stock in trade, and in the shutting up of my shop. I have no cash to pay those fines, nor any part of them. The government, in the person of the Solicitor General, has disavowed any participation in the conduct of the Sheriffs with regard to my property; though, it is notorious to all the world, that it has been a government affair throughout. The position the government takes with regard to me is this: "*We have treated this man in such a manner; we have made such havoc with his property; that it will be better for us to keep him a prisoner for life, or destroy him as quick as possible, than to acknowledge a participation in such outrages and illegalities, whilst we can throw the blame on*

the Sheriff who is dead." This is precisely the conduct of the government. But this affair I leave entirely to the public. They may take it up or leave it alone just as they think proper. I have philosophy enough to bear this or any thing that comes from my resistance to despotism. I have no cash to pay those fines; and if I had the fifteen hundred pounds in money, I do not think that I should be disposed to pay it, after such robberies as I have sustained at the hands of the government. At present, I do not feel the least inclination to pay those fines if I were able, or even to have them paid, unless by those who inflicted them. When I began this article, I did not think of saying any thing about them; but recollecting my promised appeal to the public, I have now introduced the matter to say, that I shall make no further appeal to the public about the fines, nor say any thing further about them, with any view of calling the attention of the public in general, or of my friends in particular to them. I shall patiently wait the course of events, though I do not think that I shall live so many more days in prison, as I have filled out already, under such close confinement as I receive.

I have now to introduce a subject that interests me much more than my liberation. I stated some time since, that there was a probability of my obtaining all the papers left unpublished by Mr. Paine. An obstacle has hitherto existed to the sale of the whole of them, which has now been removed; and, an overture has been made to me, that I shall have them for ten thousand francs, which is near four hundred guineas. Had I the cash I should have taken them, and have put them to the Press without saying a word, until they were ready for delivery. But, *I have not the cash*, and know no private means of raising it. Therefore, I am now in the same state of mind as I was about getting into the house in Fleet Street. Rest, I shall have none, until I get those manuscripts, so long as they are saleable, and I know it. I have been thinking of making different propositions to the public to raise the money; but I know that it is a delicate and doubtful matter as to its result. I thought of proposing to publish the documents by subscription, but this would sound a great deal better if they were first in my hands: therefore, I have relinquished this idea, as I know many impositions have been practised on the public by such means, a suspicion of which I wish to avoid.

I have, at length, resolved on the following proposition,

as the most fair and honourable that I can make, and the most likely to be successful. Of the edition of Mr. Paine's Political Works, which sell at £2. in boards, I expect I have about eight hundred copies remaining. To ask the public to purchase these, at this high price, would be rather a suspicious proposition, as to the real object. I have, therefore, resolved, to make a sacrifice of half the price, until I have made the money from them that I want. To those who cannot lay down the money for them in boards, all at once, I propose to sell them in sheets, at fourpence each, or in pamphlets at the same rate, just as they can afford to buy them. If any individual be disposed to advance a sum of money as a loan upon a deposit of a given number of this publication, I am willing to receive it. This publication is a main feature in my stock, and, I flatter myself, will be equivalent to the object I have in view. Letters addressed to me at 5, Water Lane, Fleet Street, London, or in this Gaol, with a one pound note, shall have the publication sent to any part of the Island, free of expence for carriage; if accompanied with an order for other publications, so much the better.

The MSS. expected, of Mr. Paine's, are understood to consist of, a "Third Part of the Age of Reason;" a "Reply to the Bishop of Landaff on his Apology for the Bible;" a complete Memoir, of which the documents, we understand, were partly selected and arranged by himself; many small pamphlets and minor pieces, and correspondences with several eminent characters, particularly Mr. Jefferson, none of which have ever been published. If I can get them into my possession, I shall lose no time in passing them through the Press, after I have the means. My present slow progress with other things, is entirely owing to my confined means, or to the great expence which is connected with my business. To which may be added, bad situation in London, bad arrangement and management, in consequence of the stock being scattered all over London, from the fear of further robberies, by those who can rob with impunity, and the frequent change of hands in the management, each taking to it, without previous experience, as soon as the other is arrested. Any person, who takes a fair and candid view of my present situation and condition, may rather wonder at what I have done, than at what I have not done.

RICHARD CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Salford, Manchester, May 5, 1823d Year of the Jewish
Reformer, who was first made into a God by Paul.

PERSECUTED FELLOW CITIZEN,

WE, your sincere friends of the Salford Reading and Zetetic Society, and others, obtrude ourselves upon your notice with our further acknowledgments for your brave and honest exertions in the cause of free discussion, to accomplish the complete emancipation of the mind.

In my opinion, your cause is gaining ground daily, for not only have thousands rallied round your standard through the persecutions of the *tithe* and *tax-eaters*, but the tone of many of the Christian fanatics themselves are lowered. I, for one, could scarcely ever mention your name to any of my acquaintance, but their replies would directly reverse the precepts they pretend to keep in view. Instead of rendering blessings for your cursings of corruption, they would render cursings for the ameliorating principles that are founded in nature, and which you so ably advocate. Let all such Christians, particularly those that are persecutors only through ignorance, read Mrs. Wright's Trial; and I know, from my experience, their tone will be lowered. I do not know a work more fit to be put into the hands of such Christians. They will exhibit their Christian fanaticism no doubt at the indictment, but when they see the subject handled so ably by a Christian Priest on their own ground, they then faintly acknowledge that your prosecutors ought to meet you in the field of discussion, and not shake you off by consigning you to a dungeon.

There is one Christian sect in particular, the followers of Baron Emanuel Swedenborg, that I am the more surprised at, as they profess liberty of conscience in every respect, calling themselves philanthropists, on account, that loving their neighbour and charity is their professed predominant rule of action. The hypocritical cant of this sect is similar to the rest, that it is better to sacrifice a few, than that the whole should be corrupted, particularly, the rising generation, by causing them to disregard religion. But this nonsense was the cry at the first commencement of Christianity, even against the hero of their religion himself, who was crucified for blasphemy, and at the commencement of all reformations since.

I have a strong desire, and have long intended, to bring Swedenborg, and his followers, more particularly under your notice, but as it would make this letter such an unusual length, I must defer the remainder to some future period.

The Swedenborgians allow, that you are more than a match for all the rest of the Christian sects put together, that Deism will in time annihilate all of them, and that the field of discussion will be abandoned to the Materialists, Deists, and Swedenborgians. I recol-

lect lending a Swedenborgian priest your "Address to Men of Science:" he said, he wished he never might have a more difficult task than to answer it, and that he would have continued a Deist himself, had it not been for Swedenborg's writings. He knew Swedenborg was called a madman, but he was persuaded his reasonings were not the reasonings of a madman.

You, perhaps, are no stranger to the rank and character of Swedenborg. His seeing and talking with ghosts; and frequent excursions into the spiritual world, are fully believed in by his followers; and not denied by other Christian sects; as they would, by so doing, impeach the testimony of Paul, and John, the author of the book of Revelations. In fact, they consider Swedenborg's testimony a weighty demonstration of another world, also, of its laws and government. It appears he had intercourse with the world of spirits during twenty-seven years. Your Fourteenth Letter to Judge Bailey impels me to say more upon this subject, in which, I see, you challenge all the ghosts in existence to a combat, likewise "the Devil and his Master;" but they, perhaps, have not as yet heard of your challenge, or you would, before this time, have been choked with a sulphureous whiff from an agent of his Satanic majesty.

On one occasion, Swedenborg carried compliments from the Queen of Sweden to her deceased brother, Frederick of Prussia, and brought back from the spiritual world the compliments of her brother to the Queen. How he found him out, or whether he maintained a similar situation, Swedenborg and his followers do not tell us, perhaps, it was by instinct. It appears, the Queen's brother imparted to him a secret, with which she was confident no one could have been acquainted but themselves. But his experimental testimony is never urged or appealed to by him as a proof for any part of his doctrine. Swedenborg and the Queen of Sweden were very intimate, and whether, before this circumstance or after (which originated through the Queen's joking him) I am not certain, but she ennobled him in the year 1719; from which time he took his seat with the nobles of the equestrian order in the triennial assembly of the States.

As a voluminous author, of such rank, and not having any mercenary stimulant, confining himself principally to writing, having a number of followers, who consider his doctrine, independent of his visions to be invulnerable, I took the liberty of introducing him, in part, to your notice.

It is singular enough, indeed, that Atheists and Deists, are men whom ghosts invariably shun. They never see any such beings as either fairies, witches, or ghosts. If ghosts appear at all, I think it would be one proof of a wise Providence to allow them to appear to open and avowed Atheists, to convince them that such a thing as spirituality exists. However, this is certain, that ghosts and such imaginary beings are becoming more scarce, as reason and philosophy dispels superstition. I verily believe, ere long, you will frighten them all out of the country, and compel them to fly to a

more superstitious quarter. I have seen very respectable houses in Ireland entirely abandoned through a belief in these imaginary visitors.

But, instead of ghosts, visiting us, Swedenborg, in particular, visited the ghosts, on the most trifling pretences, such as carrying compliments and bringing them back! He scours the ghostly kingdom, and soon falls into familiar conversation with them! On another occasion, I see he has a chat with Sir Isaac Newton concerning a vacuum! Newton told him he abhorred the idea of a vacuum! He likewise conversed with some who had left their material tenements but two or three days before, and who, it seems, were ignorant of their change, until Swedenborg informed them! Anatomy and Chemistry (until he, when about fifty years of age began to write on Divinity) were his favourite studies, in which he made a great proficiency. Swedenborg's curious system of the creation, is what I more particularly wish to lay before you, but, as I am sure I am growing too tiresome, which I beg you will excuse, I must defer it to some more favourable opportunity.

In my last letter to you speaking of birth-day commemorations, I did not mean to be understood as charging any particular body with drunkenness, but, that I disliked the system of making sensual gratifications form a part of public meetings, as they frequently proved injurious to certain individuals, and likewise have a tendency to create disorder and confusion, I perfectly agree with you that all public meetings ought to be sentimental, and sensuality, as much as possible, if not altogether, excluded. For my own part, I consider it more honourable to give what I have to spare to the persecuted for free discussion, than to waste my means on the Publicans for their pots of poison.

For your amusement and to confirm my statement, I send you a copy of an anecdote of Swedenborg, as I do not think it worth while to insert, even the substance of it in this, I have copied it from a Swedenborgian periodical work for April, 1822, called "The Intellectual Repository for the New Church."

I conclude, in the name of your sincere friends, wishing that you, Mrs. Carlile, and Sister, and all the persecuted Friends of Truth and Liberty, may finally triumph over the *silent*, though fiend-like Christians, who have consigned you to a dungeon, because that you were "bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be hold." With the greatest sympathy for your sufferings, and hoping you will persevere in the cause of suffering humanity.

I remain, Sir, yours in sincerity,

JOSEPH LAWTON.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Joseph Lawton	3	6	Franklin	0	6
John Lawton, an Advocate			James Mellor	1	0
for Free Discussion	2	0	A Christian, but a Friend to		
J. Hurst	1	0	the Oppressed	1	0

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	s.	d.		s.	d.
Charles Aberdeen	1	0	A Friend	0	6
Thomas Wood	2	0	George Longbottom	1	0
John Foulkes	1	0	Samuel Longbottom	0	6
A Friend, T.	2	0	James Boyd	0	6
J. N.	1	0	J. Collins	1	0
A Widow's Mite	0	6	William Jones	*3	6

* Collected by William Jones, No. 5, Spa Street, Salford, for "The Permanent Union Fund," being one of the Committee.

TO MR. JOSEPH LAWTON, SALFORD, MANCHESTER.

CITIZEN,

RETURNING you thanks for your further support, I shall proceed to give you some reasons why I think Swedenborg was either an impostor or a man of a diseased mind. I have never read his writings, nor any part of them, so as to retain the least recollection of them. I attempted to subpoena one of the heads of that sect on my trial, but he positively refused to appear in Court. I found that these Swedenborgians were interested in the result of my Mock Trials, and that was the first time I ever had an idea of their existence as a distinct sect. One of them, a Mr. Cox of Birmingham, sent me several volumes just before my trials came on, and actually came to London on purpose to be present, but, by a glance at those volumes, I could not see the least ground of defence, or any thing that would justify my reference to them. I was sorry to hear, after I was in prison, that those volumes were missing, with several that I lost of my own.

// It is of no use to dwell upon any particular case of a spiritual visit in which Swedenborg is said to have been engaged, it may and may not be a matter of intrigue between the parties: one or both may have been deluded. It is always necessary that an impartial third person should test all these things from beginning to end. I take my stand upon the ground, that there is nothing spiritual in existence. If a spirit be not composed of matter, of what can it be composed? That is a question for a spiritualist to answer. If composed of matter how can it both quit and retain the shape of the human body? It is really a folly to attempt to write a word upon the subject. I never touch it without feeling shame and blushing for the fearful inventive mind of man. It is quite enough for the materialist to say to the

spiritualist, produce a spirit, demonstrate it, tell us of what it is composed: unless you do this, you do nothing. It is impossible for a materialist to prove by demonstration, that there is no such thing as a spirit; because the spiritualist cannot convey to his mind what he means by the word *spirit*. If a man teaches a strange doctrine, it becomes every man who cannot understand it, to ask for proofs and explanations, if the teacher has no proofs, no explanations, no known relations for his words, the only inference is, that he must be an impostor, or a man of a diseased mind. There can be no evasion of this test.

The doctrine of spirits evidently originated with the notion propagated by Pythagoras and others, that all matter was indestructible, and that, when one kind of animal died, the matter of its body dispersed and formed a part of another living body. The notion, in the first instance, was correct in part; that is, to the dispersion of one body and its mingling with other bodies; but the attempt to keep up a continuous identity was the great ground of error, and the origin of the superstition of the spiritualist.

The most common understanding may learn in a moment, that all animals continue to consume food, and that the matter, which passes in to the stomach as food, receives a change, and passes part one way and part another through every pore and passage of the body. The same body does not always exist to expel the new food; but the new food successively forms new parts of the body, and these new parts expel those which are old and decayed. Thus the body keeps in action as a perfect machine, until some injury or decay stops all its motions. This motion keeps up what is called life; for life is nothing more than this continual motion, this constant change and interchange of the body. Every sensation has the same foundation; and the congregation of sensations constitutes what we call mind. Thus it is, that different organizations exhibit different characters; different habits, feel different sensations, that form different minds. Thus it may be seen, how it is we constantly crave food, and how it is, that if we do not get sufficient food to apply to the stomach and keep the body in action, we languish and die, or, in other words, we are starved to death: the machine of self is stopped.

This action of the body rightly understood, explains to us how pains are occasioned: that blows or wounds inflicted on any particular part stop the healthy action of that part, and, according to their severity, affect the whole body; for

an action impeded in one part throws the necessary excretion on another part. Pains of the bowels, the stomach, the head, are occasioned by a congregation of some foul matter which those particular parts cannot throw off with sufficient effect, and are thereby deranged in their proper actions. Thus it is, that a man who overloads his stomach, is in a state of fever; until his stomach has digested and dispersed the superabundance. Thus it is that a man gets intoxicated. He drinks to an excess, and the excess in his stomach generates a superabundance of gas that flies to his head and deranges all his faculties. A Chemist, by filling a room with a given quantity of a particular gas, could intoxicate a whole company without liquor, and make them play strange pranks.

The simple accidents by which life is lost prove to a certainty, that life is nothing more than the action of the body, and that all which constitutes mind or sensation is extinct, the moment the life is extinct. Life is sensation; and death is a cessation of that sensation. Experience proves this in the animal world, and some men have thought that vegetables have some peculiar sensations; as they propagate and live nearly on the same principle with animals. In fact, animals are but a sort of vegetables with the power of locomotion; and vegetables are a sort of animals that cannot move themselves: the one receives the matter for its nourishment and carries it in its stomach, moving from place to place; the other, must be fixed and imbedded to receive its nourishment through its roots. There is a strong similarity in what constitutes life in both: for both are nourished by and excrete matter in the same manner, only different kinds of matter. The foul air which animals excrete forms a peculiar nourishment for vegetables; and the air excreted by vegetables is extremely wholesome to animals; in short, they are evidently qualified to be food for each other! dead animal matter is proper food for living vegetables, and living vegetables, or vegetables just separated from their soil, are proper food for animals. All animals, who feed on animal matter, are of a grosser nature, and constitute what we call beasts of prey. Not to affront any Christian reader, I acknowledge, that I am, in a slight degree, a beast of prey, and that I consume about two or three pounds of animal food in a week.

I could go into more particulars to exhibit the real quality of animal life, but I wish to instruct the most simple mind on this all important head; because, it is only by ac-

quiring knowledge on this point that superstition can be fairly rooted out. I avoid all technical, or merely scientific terms, that every one may understand every word, nor do I intend to enlarge much so as to confuse the mind. To shew, that animal life is nothing but the mere motions of matter through the animal body or machine, is my object here; and doing this, is calculated to rid the mind of all notions of spirits, as certain notions are called, which is the end of this letter.

The Materialist argues, and argues demonstratively, that matter and motion is the cause of every effect. Point to any effect, and the Materialist will explain to you how it is caused by matter and motion. If he fails to do it in the most precise manner; it is because he is not yet perfect in the science of matter and motion; but still, whoever has studied that science a short time, arrives at the most complete conviction that all is matter, and that all effects are caused by motions of matter. I have spoken of perfection in this science, it is unattainable, man's sphere of action, and even of observation, is confined, and consequently his ability is there confined.

But it may be asked, why do men who call themselves Spiritualists, continue to shun the demonstrations of the Materialist, when they themselves have no demonstration, no proof of identity, not even an approach to correctness of opinion, not even a pretence to truth? The answer is clear; the Preacher finds it a profitable delusion, and the hearer, like the drunkard, finds it, for the time, a pleasing delusion! It is the opium of the mind: it tickles and amuses the fancy: it drowns momentary pains, but it ends in being a diminution of health and pleasurable sensations! The devotee is always distracted when free from the reverie, and never in a natural and healthful state! It is a useless life—a living death! The stream of the mind is perverted from its natural and reasonable channel; the current loses its vigour, by losing its banks; and, after dashing against a thousand obstacles, ends in forming a fetid and poisonous marsh, that sends forth with the winds its foul exhalations to corrupt and destroy humanity!

RICHARD CARLILE.

P. S. I shall return to the subject of the sect of Swedenborgians. It is my intention to address a Number of "The Republican" to each of the Christian sects now existing in this country. I shall therefore be glad of all the local and general information I can obtain of each, from those who are more minutely acquainted with them than myself.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Leeds, May 13, 1823.

I AM authorized by your Republican and other friends of Leeds, to solicit your acceptance of the enclosed sum of £2. 16s. 5d. as a continuation of their subscription towards your fines, or rather to help you to maintain, in defiance of Kings, Peers and Priests, the perfect liberty of the press. I am sorry the sum is so small, but I believe we shall soon be able to make you another, and I hope a larger remittance. If the industrious classes of society were but sensible of the inestimable value of free discussion, how it is calculated to destroy superstition and error, and to make the human race more wise, more intellegent, and consequently more happy, you would not be suffered to remain in prison a single week. But it is not the case. The great bulk of mankind blindly follow priests of some denomination or other who, however they may differ with and damn one another about other things, all agree in keeping those ignorant who suffer themselves to be led by them. Nothing can be more clear than the right to publish honest and conscientious opinion concerning religion. Religion is altogether a matter of opinion: it is one thing with one person, and another thing with another person; it is nothing that admits of demonstration; and it would be next to impossible to find two religious persons who entertain the same opinions. When ever there are different opinions entertained on any subject, it is evident they cannot all be right, and how are we to discover which is right, but by free discussion. For my part, I perfectly agree with you, that every thing that bears the name of religion is founded upon error, or is the consequence of our ignorance of the physical causes of the different phenomena we behold. But that is no reason why I should prosecute those who entertain and publish a different opinion, or that that they should prosecute me. If there was a person living possessing infallibility; and if any other person was to disbelieve him, and to publish that disbelief, I should then think I had no right to prosecute him for it.

It is equally clear that every member of a community has a right to publish his opinions, respecting what sort of constitution, and what sort of laws are best calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of that community. In endeavouring to maintain these rights, you, your wife, your sister, and your servants, have been shamefully and cruelly prosecuted. I will conclude with expressing my sincere hope, that you may be enabled to bear up against your complicated sufferings, and to bring your unmanly persecutors to justice.

Yours, on behalf of the subscribers,

JOSEPH GILL.

John Smithson, Materialist	5	0	John Hewson	1	0
Joseph Hurtley	1	0	James Longbottom	1	0
Thomas Steel	2	0	James Coats	0	6
T. S.	0	6	Butcher	0	6
J. P.	0	6	John Haigh, a Friend to Li-		
J. F.	0	6	berty	0	3
William Bish	0	6	James Kilburn	0	2
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David Bannister	1	0	Universal Citizenship	1	0
Balance of the last subscrip-			John Brown	0	3
tion	1	5			
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John Benvy	1	0	James Robertson	0	6
Mary Benvy, wife to the			Adam Graham	0	3
above who detests the			Thomas Linley	0	4
Royal Brute, that could			Isaac Kirk	1	0
not prove himself a Cuck-			John Baxter	0	3
hold	0	6			

TO MR. JOSEPH GILL.

CITIZEN, Dorchester Goal, May 19, 1823.
MY friends of Leeds have no need to apologize for the smallness of any further remittances to me: they form one of the few bodies, to whom I owe much of what I have been able to do in the free use of the Press; and if they do no more, I shall think they have done enough. I shall not value

hereafter a subscription of as many pounds from any other quarter, as I have valued and do now value the shillings I have received from Leeds according to the time and manner in which they have been sent.

All I now ask from my Leeds friends is, a perseverance in free discussion among their neighbours, out of the alehouse, for I never will wittingly offer the hand of fellowship to that man who is a regular tippler in the alehouse. I know no vice that has a worse effect upon the individual and his family. What he drinks there is not at all essential to his strength and nourishment, and what he spends is often the property of another, or if not so, if in reality his own fair earnings, he is a criminal to himself, his family, and consequently to the community, in not applying it to improve his mind, his health, and the embellishment of his person, with those of his family. Those houses in which persons obtain licenses to sell intoxicating liquors cause more real poverty, vice and misery than all the other causes which exist in this country. It is one of those diseases which a moral legislature would studiously seek to undermine. It is the most powerful ally of kingly and priestly despotism, and the main cause that enervates a people and disqualifies them for resistance to oppression.

We hear a great deal said about giving the poor the means to procure a cheap and wholesome beer: but who will shew a cause why beer is at all necessary as a nourishment? I could once drink a pint of good beer, with a great deal of satisfaction, but having weaned myself from it, under the conviction that it is not so wholesome a liquor as pure water, or good milk and water, I now find the best of beer is offensive, even nauseous to my palate. I know this is touching a deep rooted prejudice, as powerful as religion itself, but I write to give the labouring man new ideas as to comforts, and not to deprive him of one that is wholesome. No, I would have him well fed, well clothed well housed and in possession of every means that could improve his mind, promote his health, and make him truly comfortable. I should like to see every married man, wife and family, in possession of an independent roof, or possessing a distinct house or cottage to themselves; for in my humble opinion, that is a great essential to independence and high and manly mind; and upon this view, I feel a strong repugnance to Mr. Owen's system of association, as being calculated to cut up the very roots of independence, where independence is attainable. Any thing is better than the present state of the poor in Ire-

land, and many parts of this Island, but in a general view of human society, I take Mr. Owen's *new view* to be confined, and only useful under a degrading despotism such as we have in this and the neighbouring Island.

I will lay it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that all money spent in beer or other intoxicating liquors is money wasted, if spent for no other object than the gratification of drinking such liquor. Of course it will apply more particularly to those who, for the sake of beer, deprive themselves of other comforts: for where a man can afford to shorten his life by luxuries and excesses, he may if he will, as well do it by beer as by any other thing.

The longings, for something under the name of beer, which exist in this Island, are carried so far as to induce some persons, who cannot get at strong beer to drink the most offensive liquor that can be imagined under the name of small beer, sour, foul and nauseous! And even to purchase such an unwholesome liquor, when a fine well spring of water was at hand, and to be resorted to for nothing! Such a propensity is a phenomenon in human nature.

What gives vigour to the Bull, and strength and energy to the Horse? Is it beer or intoxicating liquor? What preserves that uniform health and activity which is common to all cattle and wild animals? Is it fermented or distilled liquors? Man is as well organized to obtain uniform health, strength and vigour as any other animal. But all his fevers, his aches, and his pains, are brought on by his own propensities for unwholesome modes of diet and dwelling.

The labouring man who drinks no beer has so much more clear money to take to his wife and family to make his home comfortable; and the difference of a few shillings in a month, perhaps in a week, make a prodigious difference in the state of domestic comforts where wages are fixed and small. I know all this by experience: I feel competent, I feel authorized to write upon this subject from having moved in that state of society where I have witnessed the bad effects of those practices. Whilst knocking about the tin plates I have often thought I could write a useful book to dissuade my fellow workmen from the too great consumption of beer and spirits; though I had then no idea but they were in some degree wholesome. For myself, I can say, that I never drank any thing of the kind from custom, or regularly, though I often drank occasionally. I always spent what I earned and never saved money, but what others have spent in beer and spirits, I spent in books,

clothes, and a respectable lodging; always endeavouring to appear superior to mechanics in general, out of the workshop; and from the comforts and utility which I have derived from this practice, I would recommend it to every man. My aim and ambition was to keep the company of, and to be respected by the most respectable tradesmen, and I always found that I was gratified in that which I now consider to have been a most laudable ambition.

But why all this lecture upon beer to me, you will say? Not to you, as an individual, but, I am told, that many of my Leeds friends are not so particular on this head as I could wish them to be; and as I hope to find when I come among them.

Let me not be understood as laying a scheme to get a further support from you, I declare, that I am perfectly satisfied and thankful at what you have done for me in Leeds, and I really do not desire that you shall do any thing further; but out of respect and regard for what you have done for me, I now really wish you to do every thing possible for yourselves. I am anxious to see every man who connects himself with me advancing his condition in life, and holding out a strong moral and useful example to his neighbours. This will do more to instruct and make proselytes than all the discussions, than all the precepts, that you can offer in words, unsupported by good examples. Not that I would have you shrink from nor be careless about discussion, but I would have your manners give weight and illustration to your words, particularly, as our persecuting enemies seek to impeach our morals, and even contend that morality has no foundation but in religion.

This is why I am solicitous to break every friend from every bad habit: this is why I have given you a lecture on beer, when yours to me, nor your own conduct, as an individual, did not call for it. It is a confidence in your good sense, and that you will not take it amiss, that has made me address this subject to you, and not only to you, but to every man whom it may concern. The Persian proverb says: Better is the reproof of a friend, than the flattering deceitful words of an enemy.

Express my thanks and regards to all friends in Leeds and its neighbourhood. Mrs. Carlile is in Lancashire with all her family and shall come and see you all in Yorkshire, if you wish it.

RICHARD CARLILE.

A COLOSSAL EQUESTRIAN STATUE

OF THE DUKE OF YORK! THE HERO OF FLANDERS!! THE
DUKE OF ANGOULEME OF THE LAST CENTURY.

THE following printed paper is now being distributed among the expectants of the favours of the Commander in Chief. As we have seen no public notice of any such an intention as it professes; we presume that it may be viewed as a *feeler*. We at least *feel* it to be our duty to make an effort to stay this further national disgrace. The following is the proposition.

“ ——— In mind and manners, princely;
Brave, noble, generous, and compassionate:
Feeling high birth, exacts high duties from him,
And acting as befits a monarch's Son!”

“To record the virtue, and do justice to the talents, of great and distinguished characters, has ever been an object of emulation to noble minds; and a generous nation is always anxious to transmit to posterity its grateful sense of the eminent services of those whose exertions have secured honour to themselves, and advantage to their country.—No Monument of human art can do justice to the merit of *HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK*, and no tablet can amply record his indefatigable exertions, during his long service as Commander-in-Chief, by which the British army attained to a state of discipline that enabled it in every quarter of the globe to achieve an imperishable renown, and finally to obtain a peace as glorious to itself, as beneficial to our country.—It is however but right, that an opportunity should be afforded to the Public in general, and the Army in particular, of embodying the sentiments of respect for *His Royal Highness* which pervade all classes of the community, and of leaving to posterity a proud evidence that they are not unconscious of his virtues, or ungrateful for his services.

To accomplish this object, it is proposed that a COLOSSAL EQUESTRIAN STATUE of *HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS*, may be erected by SUBSCRIPTION, in the front of the Horse Guards, in St. James's Park, to be raised upon a pedestal composed of English, Irish, and Scotch granite, bearing on the Entablature a suitable INSCRIPTION, recording to the present generation, and to a grateful and admiring posterity, the Benevolent, Military, and other institutions, which have acquired a designation for *His Royal Highness*, the dearest to his generous and patriotic heart, that of the Soldiers', the Widows', and the Orphans' Friend.—That a COMMITTEE OF GEN-

PLEMEN be immediately formed to give effect to this proposition, and an Appeal be made to the *Commanding Officer of each regiment in the British Service, and to all those who value the honour of their country*, calling upon them to unite their Subscriptions, that the required amount may be speedily raised, to complete the undertaking in a style worthy of the magnitude and importance of the occasion.

To General and Field Officers, and those who have had the honour of transacting official business personally with His Royal Highness, little need be said; they have seen, in His Royal Highness, united, *the dignity of the Prince with the condescension of the Gentleman, the firmness of the Soldier with the mildness of the Man*; and proud will they be, to enroll their names among those who are anxious for the opportunity of putting upon record a testimony of their grateful respect.—To those officers, who, though they have “shared the honours of the hard-fought field,” have not had such frequent opportunities of witnessing His Royal Highness’s personal exertions in the discharge of the duties of his high situation, it is requisite only to point to the uniform kindness and liberality which has characterized his attention to the Army—to the justice of his regulations and the impartiality of his decisions; and the support of this honourable and meritorious class of Officers will not, it is presumed, be withheld.—The non-commissioned Officers and Privates of His Majesty’s Army can never forget, that to their Commander-in-Chief they owe many of those regulations, which, in inhospitable climes, and in services of peril and hardship, have given to the British Soldier comforts that would be looked for in vain in other ranks; and to his Royal Highness are they indebted for the selection of those officers who shared with them their difficulties, privations and dangers, and led them to the *temple of peace and over the plains of victory*.—*The mite of the Private Soldier cannot fail to be as acceptable a tribute to his Royal Highness’s feelings, as will be the more splendid subscription of the higher ranks*; and he, whose kind solicitude has extended to all,—whose generous, warm-hearted feelings have taught him to look upon every Soldier as his friend and his brother (and their orphan children as his own,) cannot but be gratified to find among his brethren in the Army, from the highest to the lowest rank, a generous emulation, to give each an earnest proof of their sincere attachment.

The public at large (by the voice of their representatives) have already declared their gratitude for His Royal Highness’s exertions; and in July, 1815, the House of Commons unanimously expressed their gratitude, and that of the country, to his Royal Highness, “for his indefatigable exertions during a period of upwards of twenty years, in which the British Army had attained a state of discipline and military science hitherto unknown; and which under Providence, had in a great degree contributed to acquire for this empire, its present height of military glory among the nations of Europe.”

It is now only left to that public to confirm *the opinion so properly expressed by their representatives*, and by the ERECTION of the pro-

posed MONUMENT *to signify their gratitude and respect* for His Royal Highness, to whom is due the high state of discipline that distinguished the British army during the late war; without which, though valour might have nerved the arm of the soldier, and wisdom have presided at the councils of the camp, this country might still have been waging a protracted war—or else have submitted to an *inglorious peace*.

OBSERVATIONS.

ALL you who have forgotten the Hero of Flanders! the putter down of the French Revolution, and the Conqueror of the French Republican army! open your purses to raise a monument to his fame!

All you, who have forgotten the glorious exploits of the Royal Duke, with his Royal Army in Holland, when he soiled his breeches! and flying lost the road which his flying army had taken! open your purses and raise a monument to his fame! worthy of his name!

All you, who have forgotten the CAMPAIGN WITH MRS. CLARKE! and her *commissioned footman*! open your purses and raise a monument to record such noble deeds.

If there be a man or woman who has forgotten these things, and if these, the ten thousand pounds a year for visiting a sick father! let him or her give freely to such a noble purpose!

To the army we would say: If you have seen the brave soldier promoted without regard to aristocratical influence: if you never heard of orders sent to General Whitlocke, not to allow his troops the means of saving themselves from destruction at Buenos Ayres: if you never heard of pretended *chests of furs*! as heavy as *chests of gold*! sent from this general, for the use of this Duke, and pass without examination at the Portsmouth Custom House: if you never heard of the Duke being the chief companion of the General on his return to England, and accompanying him every day on his trial by Court Martial: if you have heard none of these things; then consent to the stopping of one day's pay to raise a monument to your Royal Commander in Chief.

There goes a story of this Duke, that, when a young man, and in company with one of the Richmond family, or the Lords Lennox, just before the French Revolution came on, he should say: "If I had my father's kingdom, I would rule it with a rod of iron." Young Lord Lennox answered: "Then, Frederic, I hope there would be iron enough in the rod to make an axe for your neck." The consequence is stated to have been a duel; in which the Duke had one of the curls shot off, which were then commonly worn on the side of the face. On the matter coming to the knowledge of the late King, he is said to have been excessively angry with the Richmond family at engaging in a duel with his Royal Boy, and to have sent the spirited young Lennox out of the country on his travels, as the alternative of a prosecution.

The whole life of this Duke has been in strict accordance with those of his brothers and sisters: there is not one honourable trait, not one creditable anecdote, not one pleasing incident known to the world as having resulted from either of them. Vice, hated vice, in all its hideous features, has been the uniform characteristic of these remnants of our *royal blood*. It is, therefore, a great piece of folly to raise monuments in this age, that will be most assuredly pulled down in the next! We predict that not a vestige of royalty will be found in this country at the commencement of another century! We hope we have said enough to excite a general denunciation against the raising of the proposed statue.

EDITOR.

THE following Communication taken from an Edinburgh newspaper, will, we make no doubt, be turned to account by our friends North of the Tweed.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SCOTSMAN.

SIR,

IN the late discussion in Parliament on the presentation of the petition of the Edinburgh Freethinkers, the existing state of the law seems to have been much misconceived, both by the Petitioners, by Mr. Hume, and by the Lord Advocate, whose professional character ought to have insured more correctness on a subject on which he

had given advice, in his official capacity, to the Sheriff of Edinburgh.

It appears that Mr. Hume and the petitioners were under the impression that all that was done by the Sheriff was completely justified by an act of the Scottish Parliament, passed 1661, which denounced a capital penalty against those who deny the Trinity, as well as those who curse God, these two descriptions of persons being classed together by the *wisdom* of antiquity. It appears, farther, that the Lord Advocate stated that the law of 1661 was modified by a subsequent statute of the Scottish Parliament in 1695, by which it was enacted, that for the first denial of the Trinity, a man was subject to fine,—for the second to fine and imprisonment,—and for the third, to death. “This was the law,” said his Lordship, “and until it was repealed they were bound to respect it*.” It is a law which it would not be easy to *respect*, even if it were in full force, but thanks to the liberal spirit of the age these acts no longer disgrace the statute book. On the 21st July, 1813, an Act was passed by which all the old laws in England attaching penalties to the denial of the Trinity are repealed, and by which both these Scottish acts of 1661 and 1695 are quoted and repealed in toto, notwithstanding the *respect* which the Lord Advocate seems to entertain for them.

I think I cannot better testify the gratitude which I feel to the Legislature for this act of justice and liberality, than by endeavouring to vindicate it from the unjust aspersion proceeding from one who ought to know better, that it is still disposed to persecute opinions which have been held by many of the greatest defenders and greatest ornaments of Christianity—by such persons as Nathaniel Lardner and Sir Isaac Newton.

I have no doubt that the persecution of infidels (though favoured by some well meaning persons, as well as those who value religion merely for secular purposes) is equally unjust in principle and equally adverse to the spirit of Christianity, which needs no such props. I shall be happy to learn that there are no *unrepealed* Scottish acts which justify the mischievous interference of crown lawyers with persons of this description, and that in Scotland Christianity rests exclusively on the solid basis of its own external and internal evidences. Upon what principles of law or justice Deists can be deprived of books which are sold in every shop, and found in every gentleman's library, I cannot at all imagine.

I am, yours, &c.

April 24, 1823.

ANTITRINITARIUS.

* Times Report, 17th April.

TO FRANCE.

BY A LOVER OF FREEDOM.

Ruin seize thy ruthless legions,
 Base, despotic, perjured Gaul:
 On fair budding Freedom's regions,
 May thy hated minions fall.

May a vengeance, such as never
 Earth has seen, or tyrant known,
 Soon o'ertake thee, and for ever
 See thy blasted plots o'erthrown.

Let the Patriot's sword whilst reeking
 With the blood of foeman slain,
 Liberty and Justice seeking,
 Plunge in tyrants breast again.

For this bloody, foul aggression,
 Gash'd and gored at Freedom's feet,
 May thy blood-hounds in oppression,
 Death in forms terrific meet.

May the cause of Mercy flourish,
 Truth and Justice aid the brave,
 Till this earth no more shall nourish
 Tyrant-King, or burden'd Slave.

R. S.